

# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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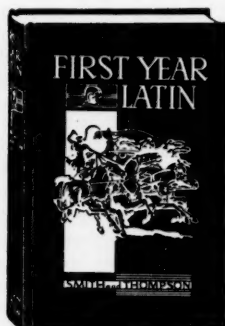
DECEMBER 5, 1949

WHOLE No. 1105

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## A TEMPORARY GUIDE TO STYLE, AND NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY is cooperating in the formulation of a uniform style-sheet for periodicals devoted to classical philology and archaeology, a project initiated by the Editor of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The present notes are intended to serve temporarily, until the new guide is issued.

For the present, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY will conform in the main to *A Manual of Style* (11th ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949); cf. especially pp. 137-53. The footnotes of recent volumes of *Classical Philology* offer a convenient guide to the style set by the *Chicago Manual*, and may be used instead of the *Manual* itself. Please note, however, two important exceptions:

1. Please avoid entirely the use of 'ff.' Instead, please indicate specifically the end of the passage you have in mind, as in the following examples: pp. 24-27, 105-6, 107-13, 122-28, 136-85, 1205-8, 1204-15, 1223-25, 1237-1352. But the symbol 'f.' may be used to indicate a single succeeding page: for pages 253 and 254, either pp. 253 f. or pp. 253-54.

2. Please disregard § 324 of the *Chicago Manual*, pp.

193-95, which deals with the placing of footnotes in the typescript. Instead please assemble the footnotes, typed double spaced, at the end of the article, preferably commencing them on a new page.

For references to periodicals, any recognizable abbreviations, consistent within a given article, may be used. The short forms listed in recent volumes of *L'Année Philologique* or the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* are entirely acceptable. For all but the very best-known reference works, please give place and date of publication. For the names and works of ancient authors, the abbreviations listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), pp. ix-xix, are recommended, but again, any consistent and unambiguous abbreviations may be used.

All copy (including quotations and verse passages) should be typed double-spaced, on 8½" by 11" paper. Wide margins should be left at top and bottom, and at both sides. Please omit all indications of type-face, except a single underline for italics. A carbon copy of the typescript should be retained, in case the original should go astray in the mails.

Contributions in all areas of classical philology are solicited. Especially welcome are articles and notes of general classical interest, wide enough in scope to appeal to the entire range of our readers. Also very welcome are communications of moderate length reporting the results of specialized research in classical fields. Less technical items dealing with the authors commonly read in schools and colleges, and with problems of classical teaching at all levels, will be gratefully received.

# THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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## IRONIC RESERVE IN HORACE\*

Recently sixteen of Thomas Mann's profound and erudite essays on such great figures as Goethe, Tolstoy, Wagner, Cervantes, Schopenhauer, Freud and others have been gathered into one volume entitled *Essays of Three Decades* in the excellent and competent English rendering of H. T. Lowe-Porter.<sup>1</sup> In them Thomas Mann approaches his subjects in a wise and tolerant middle-of-the-road fashion that places him squarely in the current of humanistic tradition. In evaluating these 18th and 19th century Europeans Mann finds himself at one with them and their predecessors of the Renaissance and, I believe, of Classical Antiquity, though this is implicit. Listen to the Greek and Roman echoes in the following:<sup>2</sup> "Art is the most beautiful, austerest, blithest, most sacred symbol of all supra-reasonable human striving for . . . truth and fullness . . . [but it is also] . . . only one humanistic discipline among others; all of them, philosophy, jurisprudence, medicine, theology, even the natural sciences and technology . . . are only variations . . . of one and the same high and interesting theme—man."

The reviewer of this book in *Time* magazine says:<sup>3</sup> "In estimating the great men of his traditional past, Mann adopts the rare criterion that is characteristic both of himself and the humane tradition," and then gives this criterion by quoting a highly significant passage (some-

what abridged): "Ironic reserve on the subject of ultimate values . . . that irony which glances at both sides . . . and is in no great haste to take sides and come to decisions; guided as it is by the surmise that in . . . matters of humanity, every decision may prove premature."

It seemed to me as I read these words that here was a criterion not only for the great intellectuals of modern times but an almost perfect description of the essential quality of a truly civilized man in the humane tradition of any age, ancient or modern. At once the thought suggested itself to me that one man above all other Romans, at any rate, had so revealed himself as the possessor of this criterion for observing and judging himself and his fellow-man, for evaluating a tolerant, wise, humane, middle-of-the-road approach to the problems of living—the *bene vivere* and the *ars fruendi*—that he still possesses 2000 years later a place in the affectionate regard of civilized men. I mean, of course, Horace.

I am well aware of the pitfalls that beset literary criticism, the difficulties of being objective, the tendency to overstrain, to read too much into too few words and hence to assume overmuch. In an author of little compass this is indeed a grave danger, but of Horace we possess much—the record of a lifetime, an almost complete delineation of self and character. Can we then find in this extensive self-revelation evidence that the friendly, companionable, likable literary artist Horace did indeed possess that characteristic quality of ironic reserve that Thomas Mann finds essential? I believe that we can.

Let us make a beginning by considering Horace's relations with his fellow-man, and above all his attitude toward his patron Maecenas and the leader of the state Augustus. That Horace handled these sometimes dif-

\* This paper was read at the Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Buffalo, New York, on May 6, 1949 (read previously at a meeting of the Philadelphia Classical Club on November 5, 1948).

<sup>1</sup> New York: Knopf, 1947. Quotations from Mann's *Essays* appear through the courtesy of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the review in *Time*, Vol. XLIX, No. 24 (June 16, 1947), 99 (Courtesy of *Time*, Copyright Time Inc., 1947).

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

ficult relationships without loss of personal independence and with infinite tact are facts too well-known to require extensive documentation here. But a concomitant of personal independence and of tact is reserve—a holding-back of one's inner self, a willingness to test the times by awaiting the outcome, a non-committal of oneself too strongly and too overwhelmingly for or against any given policy or person.

But in Horace this is never the cool reserve of an opportunistic pragmatism, seeking its own ends and making whatever terms it may with changing regimes. It is rather a genial and tolerant reserve that can glance with irony not only at the foibles of others but even at the youthful ardor of oneself. In his student days at Athens young Horace had been carried away by the fiery idealism and eloquence of Brutus into joining the Republican cause—the Liberators, they fondly termed themselves. His brief military career was shortly ended when he and his friend Pompeius were caught up in the disaster and general rout of Philippi. Yet in later life Horace was not ashamed of what to a lesser mind might have seemed a horrible mistake, a backing of the wrong horse in the wild race for power. Horace ultimately came to accept, as did Virgil, the inevitability of Augustan rule, but there is nowhere discernible in his writings any beating of the breast, any acknowledgment of error, any asking for forgiveness in the hope of favor and advancement.

Instead, we find in a poem of gay rejoicing over Pompeius' safe return the gentle irony of the well-known phrase: *sensi relicta non bene parmula*.<sup>4</sup> This is neither an admission of cowardice nor a lament for a lost cause. The whole tone of the ode is against such a construction. Taken in its context the phrase is simply an expression of ironic reserve on Horace's part, a maturer realization that youthful decision may prove premature, that one should not too strenuously commit himself to a determination of ultimate values, for the event may prove otherwise. This, it seems to me, is what Thomas Mann had in mind.

Horace's relations with Maecenas were necessarily conditioned by the gap in social status, wealth, and political influence that lay between them. That Horace was able to accept the patronage of the wealthy courtier without loss of dignity and personal independence is a tribute both to his manliness and to his tact. But I think it has not been sufficiently stressed that Maecenas himself in his own relations with Augustus exhibited much the same qualities of personal independence and tact. His skill in diplomacy, his wise advice in matters of state coupled with a preference for urbane and cultivated living led him steadfastly to refuse elevation from knighthood to the senatorial class, to reject the office of *Praefectus Urbi* while retaining the substance

of power as the holder of the emperor's seal and hence his unofficial representative during Augustus' absences from the city. A man of such personal qualities and characteristics as Maecenas could well appreciate the nature of Horace, and Horace in his turn must have been attracted to Maecenas by a feeling that here indeed was a kindred spirit. Thus it came about that through this interplay of personality the ordinary relation of literary patron and dependent artist was transmuted into the pure gold of honest friendship and affection.

For nowhere in Horace does flattery slop over into fulsomeness. Praise is sincere; compliment is mingled with banter. One has but to compare the sincere advice of Horace to his friend Scaeva<sup>5</sup> on the advantages of patronage as practiced by Horace himself with the corrupt practices of later days as exemplified by Martial. Just as Horace in his famous involuntary interview with the bore on the Via Sacra<sup>6</sup> found it necessary to reject the boorish implication of special privilege and political preferment assumed because of his intimacy with Maecenas, so in this epistle to Scaeva he defends himself against the charges that he is a sycophant of the great. As between Diogenes the Cynic and Aristippus the Cyrenaic Horace clearly lines up with the more adaptable and more human Aristippus. This is a sincere preference and Horace points the example candidly. But when Horace turns at the end of this epistle<sup>7</sup> to practical rules that the young aspirant for favor is supposed to follow his tone changes to good-natured irony, as is his wont.

In the very next epistle, addressed not to a young unknown of humble estate, as Scaeva probably was, but to a young aristocratic friend Lollius,<sup>8</sup> again Horace takes up the subject of patronage and discusses some of its more delicate problems—how to be a client without becoming a parasite, how to exhibit true independence without lapsing into rude or boorish insistence upon trifles or one's own tastes, how to be discreet in criticism of others. Yet here again the tone is one of mock gravity. It is as though Horace were assuming the manner of a Stoic professor expounding his maxims, but not with the fervor of everlasting righteousness—a Puritanical quality in Stoic teaching which Horace thoroughly detested. And here again toward the end comes that shift into gentle irony when Horace cites himself as an example<sup>9</sup>—of what? Of political preferment such as Lollius seems to be seeking? Not at all—with ironic twist Horace proffers himself as an example of philosophic contentment in rustic surroundings. He says, in effect: Here's the advice you've

<sup>5</sup> Epistles i. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Satires i. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Epistles i. 17. 43-62.

<sup>8</sup> Epistles i. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 104-12.

<sup>4</sup> Odes ii. 7. 10.

asked for. But have you any idea of what I really pray for? Just to be here on my Sabine farm, content with little or even less than I now have provided I have a bit of food, many books, and the privilege of living out my life in my own way. Pray God only for the things God can give; I'll retain the captaincy of my soul; I'll provide that most important element—*aequum mi animum ipse parabo*.

There is a third epistle on this same subject of patronage, both pro and con, what it should be and what it should not be. This one is addressed to Maecenas himself.<sup>10</sup> Obviously this is no place for advice or precept. How then to convey his message? By anecdote and parable. The delicately tactful manner in which Horace refuses, in effect, to return immediately to Rome at his patron's behest conveys a subtle reminder to Maecenas that the obligations of patronage were not one-sided. Horace has not surrendered his liberty of action by accepting favors; indeed, if such were the price Horace would feel constrained to resign these benefactions, unhappy as that would make both Maecenas and himself. But the sting of direct refusal is drawn by the anecdote of the Calabrian host and his boorish offer of surplus pears. With such a character Maecenas could not possibly identify himself; hence Horace has driven home his point without giving offense.

Then follows the fable of the little fox (or in Bentley's conjecture the shrew-mouse) and the weasel. Here Horace accepts the challenge of the fable—*hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno*<sup>11</sup>—and in turn directly challenges Maecenas—*inspice si possum donata reponere lactus*,<sup>12</sup> in which the important word is *lactus*, i.e. try me and see; I can give it all back, and cheerfully, too. Is Horace insincere in thus challenging Maecenas to test him? I think not; Horace really meant it, for his independence was precious to him, but he did not issue it as a defy. The firmness and justness of his relations with Maecenas shows precisely in the fact that he could banter with him without giving offense. Subservience and banter do not jibe.

But he is not yet half through. He rounds out this epistle with one of his longest stories, that of the famed lawyer Philippus and the auction-crier Volteius Mena, whom Philippus seduced from humble independence to the cares of land ownership. This story is no mere anecdote; it is rather an ironic parable—the parable of the biter bit, of the joke that back-fired. Although Horace quickly identifies himself with the man who wishes in the end for restoration of his former status, it cannot have been lost upon so astute an observer as Maecenas that in accepting identification with Mena Horace has in effect identified Maecenas with Philippus,

and so—Q.E.D. The lesson is now complete, and Horace can drop his banter and his irony with the firm declaration that, after all, each man must measure himself by his own foot-rule—*metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est*.<sup>13</sup>

Thus by the exercise of mutual generosity and forbearance, by the practice of tact and geniality did Horace set for Maecenas and himself the ideals of patron and client. That this ripened into a warm and intimate friendship that lasted to the very doors of death is additional proof, if proof there need be, of the essentially civilized and humane approach of both men to the problems of the fine art of living.

Horace's relations with Augustus were necessarily more formal than with Maecenas, for Augustus was, after all, the *princeps*, the ruler of the state. The divinity that doth hedge a king has ever stood as an obstacle to great and genuine intimacy. Neither as Octavian nor as Augustus does he seem to have had cronies, a palace coterie, a kitchen cabinet. He gained the admiration of men, oft reluctant; he won support for his policies; he brought peace, prosperity, stability, greatness to the state; he attracted the loyal support of many men, such as Agrippa and Maecenas. But their love and intimate affection he seems not to have aroused. A good ruler, a great architect of empire, he lacked the divine spark of the great Julius that so captivated the minds of men and engaged their hearts.

Augustus seems to have felt this; he seems even to have been a trifle jealous of the easy intimacy between Horace and Maecenas. This we learn from Suetonius, who wrote his *De Viris Illustribus* several generations later, but who as a secretary did have access to the imperial files. Now while Suetonius is properly dubious over the authenticity of a letter purporting to be one in which Horace commends himself to Maecenas,<sup>14</sup> there is no reason to regard as spurious those letters of Augustus from which Suetonius quotes in his *Vita Horati*. Here we find not Horace seeking imperial favor but Augustus wooing Horace with protestations of affectionate regard and the offer of a job as imperial secretary. But it is not a direct offer; Augustus makes it obliquely in a letter to Maecenas, for he was tactful enough to realize that he would in effect be taking Horace away from Maecenas and did not attempt this behind Maecenas' back. More important still is the implicit recognition of the intimacy of Horace and Maecenas and of Horace's desire to preserve his liberty of action. For there is here no imperial command, not to be disobeyed; no pressure for compliance. Augustus essays the light touch, with a jesting reference to Maecenas' 'parasitic board.' But Horace declined, courteously and tactfully we may be sure, for Suetonius

<sup>10</sup> Epistles i. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>14</sup> Suetonius *Vita Horati*, ad fin.



adds: *Ac ne recusanti quidem aut susceperat quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desit.*

As proof of this lack of resentment and continued attempt on Augustus' part to gain that degree of intimacy he craved, Suetonius goes on to quote from several letters addressed directly to Horace subsequent to his refusal of the secretaryship. Witness this extract: "Enjoy any privilege at my house, as if you were making your home there; for it will be quite right and proper for you to do so." Or this: "Even if you were so proud as to scorn my friendship, I do not therefore return your disdain."<sup>15</sup> Suetonius' proof must be ours, for it accords with the character of Horace as he reveals himself in writings indisputably his. It accords also with the change and development in Horace's feelings toward Augustus.

The change from a political and military opponent of Octavian to a supporter of Augustan policies and poet-laureate of the realm was no rapid or overwhelming conversion. It was a gradual process, spurred on perhaps by Virgil, certainly by Maecenas, fostered, as we have seen, by Augustus himself. Perhaps nowhere else so much as in this gradual transformation from active opposition to reluctant admiration to active support do we witness in Horace the exercise of that essential quality of ironic reserve, which (to quote Thomas Mann again) "glances at both sides . . . and is in no great haste to take sides and come to decisions; guided as it is by the surmise that in . . . matters of humanity, every decision may prove premature."

Horace quickly recognized how premature had been his too-quick decision before Philippi. After Philippi he returned to Rome, made his peace with the victorious party, and bought in a humble clerical post in the treasury department. But acquiescence in the winning regime was a far cry from partisan support. The experience had matured Horace; he held himself more in reserve, not so quick now to go 'all out' for any program, policy, or person.

His contacts with his fellow-men and his keen observation of them and their foibles led to his first satiric efforts. Yet even this earliest poetic work of our young author reveals the possession of ironic reserve to a marked degree. The strain of personal invective and sarcasm that first appears owes much to youthful immaturity, but more to literary tradition, to conscious imitation of his great precursor and model Lucilius. Yet how quickly Horace mellowed. Only five years after the publication of the first book of his *Satires*, and with the *Epodes*, those early efforts in another form, behind him, Horace in his second book of *Satires* shows a shift in method and in emphasis. True, he

makes it seem upon advice of counsel that he has dropped the Lucilian manner. Under the guise of advice from that honored legal light of Ciceronian days, C. Trebatius Testa,<sup>16</sup> who seems to have lived on well into the Augustan age, Horace claims to have been convinced that changing times needed a change in manner. There is of course just enough truth in that to make the excuse seem plausible, and much has been written by commentators upon freedom of expression in Augustan times.

Here again one must consider not only the external circumstances but the inward compulsions of Horace's own nature. The whole tone of this satire is too light; Horace is not defending himself too seriously. The delicate irony of placing these charges and criticisms in the mouth of a distinguished elder leader of the bar cannot have been lost on Horace's audience. For Horace now definitely had an audience and a distinguished one at that. Although only thirty-five he has already won recognition, had been accepted into the highest circle, and has a secured position in Roman literature. One does not catch in this prefatory satire the note of smarting under the lash of criticism, of indignant rejection of hostile charges that characterizes Terence's defense of his literary method in the prologue to the *Andria*. It is for Horace more than an ironic defense of past method; it is an explanation for evidences of change, of striving for new effects, of experimenting with form that the reader may expect to find as he peruses Book II. The evidence is there for us to read as it was for Horace's contemporaries.

A decade marked by the appearance of Books I-III of the *Odes* was now to pass before the publication of Book I of the *Epistles* gave evidence of Horace's complete mastery of the new form. For this was no mere return to the satire of old; the shift from the Lucilian manner tentatively essayed in Book II of the *Satires* is now complete. Virtually a new literary form has arisen, completely Horatian. These epistles are still in essence *sermones*, genial talks in easy hexameters, but with a deeper and more serious note, less personal and more general—in short, more philosophical.

For whatever the form employed—satire, ode, epistle—Horace's favorite theme was human conduct. The criterion of ironic reserve that Thomas Mann finds essential for judgment of character operates in this field above all others. For Horace cannot easily be classified in the narrower sense of philosophy. Many commentators have devoted far too much time and effort in fruitless attempts to prove that Horace, under the influence of Lucretius and Virgil, was really an Epicurean all his life. Others would have him a convert in later life to the ideals and tenets of Stoicism. Others see in him a synthesis of the two, or claim

<sup>15</sup> These two quotations are from the translation of Suetonius by J. C. Rolfe in the "Loeb Classical Library." (London, 1914), II, 487.

<sup>16</sup> *Satires* ii. 1.

for him allegiance to the Middle Stoa. But Horace eludes any such classification. He is not the partisan of any one system of belief or any set rationalization of the principles that should govern human conduct. Not for him the fiery allegiance of a Lucretius or the intellectual approach of a Cicero. Horace is interested in the art of living, in the practical aspects of conduct, in the interplay of human emotions—the *bene vivere* rather than the *summum bonum*.

For Horace's philosophy was a philosophy of life—an art, not a science—the *ars fruendi* he has so aptly termed it in his epistle to a fellow-poet Tibullus.<sup>17</sup> Not that Horace did not moralize, for he frequently furnished precept and example of what he believed constituted right living. If at times his maxims remind one of Poor Richard, that is only because Horace possessed to a considerable degree the same quality of a common-sense approach to the problems of life exhibited by Benjamin Franklin. But Horace is concerned with much more than how to get ahead in life; he is concerned with how to live.

That this was Horace's primary concern needs no extensive documentation here. It is too pervasive—it runs through all that he wrote; one need not cite chapter and verse for proof thereof. Nor have I any intention of cataloguing all the instances of irony observable in the works of Horace. For our purpose it is sufficient to glance at a few passages that reveal Horace's ironic reserve on the subject of human values. In them the essential nature of Horace and his art of enjoyment is manifest to all.

Professor Elizabeth Hazelton Haight of Vassar College in her stimulating book *Horace and His Art of Enjoyment* acutely observes Horace's "peculiar method of ironical direction of satire against himself to illustrate" his point.<sup>18</sup> Of this characteristic expression of Horace's innate ironic reserve there are many examples. It is for him a favorite device, peculiarly Horatian. Witness *Satires* ii. 3, certainly the longest and perhaps the best constructed of the satires. On the general topic of the follies of mankind he engages the bankrupt Damasippus, mentioned in Cicero's letters, who is a recent convert to Stoicism, in a dialogue concerning the Stoic maxim that everyone save the wise man is mad. Horace makes no attempt to refute directly the obvious evidence of human folly. Avarice, ambition, self-indulgence and superstition are marked and decried in turn. But a subtle vein of irony runs through the entire satire, so that it effectively ridicules the airs and manners of the Stoic preachers of the day. At the very end Horace caps the climax by ironically and humorously turning the laugh against himself.

Horace, the critical, humorous rationalist in matters of faith, on the famous journey to Brundisium jestingly professes an Epicurean disbelief in miracles when confronted with a local claim of miraculous liquefaction of incense on the sacred altar without fire.<sup>19</sup> But that does not prevent him later on from ironically attributing to a miraculous thunderclap in a clear sky his conversion from his former status—*parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*.<sup>20</sup> Still later with humorous irony he recounts an incident from his own childhood—how he was lost in the woods near Venusia and found safe and sound. Why? Because miraculously the doves had covered him with leaves and so saved him from the notice of bears and serpents. Thus was he preserved by the favor of the gods to become the poet-laureate of Rome.<sup>21</sup> Once more Horace has directed his irony against himself to illustrate his point.

For Horace is as difficult to pin down in matters of personal religious belief as he is in philosophic belief. For he is primarily concerned with ethics, with human conduct. Thus he can moralize like a Stoic without necessarily being a Stoic adherent. He can accept whole-heartedly the attempts of Augustus toward a restoration of old-fashioned religion because to Horace, as to Virgil and Livy, the greatness of Rome lay not only in her men and their deeds but in their character and morality. About such matters Horace is in earnest, but even here he manages to be sincere without becoming deadly serious. His essential reserve keeps him from the excesses of Puritanism as his common-sense kept him from the excesses of sensuality.

For Horace never seriously convinces us of his own wantonness. The two unpleasant epodes<sup>22</sup> are no indication of character; they are simply early essays in writing something conventional—a literary convention of obscenity and rough language that runs from the Atellan farce and Greek comedy through Lucilius and Catullus and on beyond Horace. Such a convention has its regrettable parallel in the modern American novel, for the wide-awake, up-to-the-minute publishers of today are fairly falling over themselves in their efforts to cash in on a steady stream of what have been so wittily and aptly termed 'breast-sellers.' The disfiguring lines<sup>23</sup> of the journey to Brundisium are but a jesting reference to an occurrence of nature. The accusation of Damasippus against Horace's supposed *mille puellarum, mille puerorum furores*<sup>24</sup> is placed in its proper perspective immediately when Horace caps his whole argument with the ironically crushing *O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori!*<sup>25</sup>

In Horace we find none of the passion evidenced in

<sup>17</sup> *Epistles* i. 4. 7.

<sup>18</sup> E. H. Haight, *Horace and His Art of Enjoyment* (New York, 1925), p. 222.

<sup>19</sup> *Satires* i. 5. 97-103.

<sup>21</sup> *Odes* iii. 4. 9-20.

<sup>23</sup> *Satires* i. 5. 82-85.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>20</sup> *Odes* i. 34.

<sup>22</sup> *Epodes* viii, xii.

<sup>24</sup> *Satires* ii. 3. 325.

Catullus or Propertius; nor on the other hand is he merely a libertine of the type Ovid depicts. Horace writes of many lady-loves, but he was no Casanova. Modern commentators have about given up the attempts of their predecessors to identify the succession of lovelies with liting names that pass in procession across the pages of Horace. We cannot deny Horace the actuality of experience with women; he was too human not to have acquired knowledge about the fair half of the human race. Suetonius<sup>26</sup> tells us that Augustus frequently twitted Horace on being "a most immaculate libertine," but the passage involves a conjectural reading, and in any case, whatever may have been Augustus' exact words, he is obviously jesting.

Indeed, one modern commentator,<sup>27</sup> who set himself the task of cataloguing Horace's ideas, departs from the strict limits of cataloguing long enough to remark plaintively: "Horace's age must have had many generous, pure, and high-minded women who ought to have inspired more of the poet's verse with an ennobling theme." I can well imagine Horace's ironic answer to that one. Even so acute an observer as Tenney Frank cannot quite disabuse himself of the notion that unmarried men *ipso facto* know little about women. For he says at one point<sup>28</sup> that Horace, on the theme of women "is limited even from the point of view of Roman life" (whatever that means) and says further that Horace "could be culled to advantage for devastating samples of bachelor diction."

I shall make no attempt to cull them (neither, may I add, did Tenney Frank). I have often wondered why so much stress has been laid on Horace's bachelorhood. It seems to worry no one that persons of as diverse natures as Catullus and Virgil never married, or that Ovid, who certainly knew his way around, did marry. There are many reasons why one person chooses to remain single and another not; perhaps Horace successfully eluded pursuit. I cannot believe that marriage would have changed Horace's nature fundamentally. It might have enlarged the realm of his experience and had a sobering effect upon him. Certainly in view of his intimate association with Maecenas, Horace must have had considerable vicarious experience through the well-known domestic difficulties of Maecenas and his young wife. But single or not, Horace would have remained, as in fact he did remain, essentially the same. His ironic reserve continued throughout his life, indeed deepened in middle-age, and he let it play over all aspects of the rich life he so fully enjoyed.

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*, (note 15 above).

<sup>27</sup> Oscar E. Nybakken, *An Analytical Study of Horace's Ideas* ("Iowa Studies in Classical Philology," No. 5 [Scottsdale, Pa., 1937]), p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> Tenney Frank, *Catullus and Horace* (New York, 1928), p. 219.

For here we have a man of humble country origin who became an urbane and witty court poet, and achieved this transformation without loss of personal independence, dignity, or love for the country and its peaceful life. He won the love and trust of his fellow-man to a marked degree. In the golden mean of his own philosophy of life he exhibited that "ironic reserve on the subject of ultimate values" which Thomas Mann has marked as a characteristic of the truly civilized man in the humane tradition.

RAYMOND T. OHL

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

### PSEUDO-SMERDIS IN PHOTIUS' EPITOME OF HERODOTUS

In his very brief epitome of Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> Photius summarizes that historian's account of the Persian kings thus:

τέταρτος δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Κύρου Σέρξης· δεύτερος γὰρ Καμβύσης καὶ τρίτος Δαρείος. ὁ γὰρ μετὰ Σμέρδης ὁ Μάγος οὐκ ἀριθμεῖται τούτοις, ἀτε δὴ τύραννος καὶ οὐ προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ ἀρχὴν δόλῃ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ὑπέλθων.

On the basis of our present text of Herodotus, it is hard to understand how Photius could have reached this conclusion with regard to Herodotus' attitude towards the Magus, Pseudo-Smerdis. Nowhere in his account does Herodotus invoke the reason given here, or any other reason, for debarring the Magus from the ranks of the Persian kings. On the contrary, he makes it rather emphatic that he regards Pseudo-Smerdis as having been king, albeit for a short time. To be sure, he grants that the Magus secured the throne by unorthodox means; but, according to his version, Darius, too, came to power by using unorthodox devices.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it could hardly be argued that Herodotus considered use of deceit and trickery in securing the throne as excluding one from the right to the title of king.

In describing the rôle of Pseudo-Smerdis, Herodotus often uses forms of the verbs βασιλεύω and ἀρχω and the corresponding nouns. He states that, after the death of Cambyses, ὁ δὲ δὴ μάγος... ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε...<sup>3</sup> Later he indicates that the Magus sent messengers... ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἡρχε...<sup>4</sup> Through these messengers Pseudo-Smerdis made certain proclamations... αὐτίκα ἐπιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν...<sup>5</sup> When Darius was consulting with his six confederates about getting rid of the Magus, he made the remark, according to Herodotus,

<sup>1</sup> Photius *Bibliotheca* ix (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, 113).

<sup>2</sup> See Herodotus iii. 85-86. All citations follow the text of C. Hude (Oxford, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> iii. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> iii. 68.



that he had thought he was the only one who knew that ...ὁ μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλείων καὶ Σμέρδης ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε...<sup>6</sup> In the same connection, Darius later expressed the belief that he could gain access to Pseudo-Smerdis by claiming to have come from the Persians to deliver a message ...τῷ βασιλεῖ...<sup>7</sup> Gobryas, one of Darius' six confederates, declared that some action had to be taken, ...ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ὄντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς μάγου...<sup>8</sup> Herodotus further affirms that Prexaspes, the man whom Cambyzes had employed to kill the real Smerdis, was commanded by the Magi to make a public statement to the effect that the person ruling at the time was the true Smerdis; but Prexaspes, instead of carrying out orders, first revealed that he himself had killed Smerdis, at the direction of Cambyzes, and then...ἔλεγε...τοὺς μάγους...βασιλεύειν.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to providing such verbal evidence of his opinion on the status of the Magus, Herodotus includes a brief commentary<sup>10</sup> on the reign of the latter, stating that he conferred great benefits on all his subjects, as a result of which all people in Asia, with the exception of the Persians, mourned at the news of his death. His most important innovation was a measure providing for relief from military service and taxation for three years.

Herodotus, then, could hardly have made it any clearer that he recognized the Magus as one of the kings of Persia. Yet Photius represents him as taking just the opposite stand. One can only conjecture about the reason for Photius' error. The manner in which his statement is phrased makes it sound suspiciously like a marginal gloss on a remark ascribed to Xerxes by Herodotus. On the occasion in question, a group of the leading Persians had been summoned by Xerxes to discuss with him the advisability of another expedition against Greece. Xerxes, speaking before the group, remarked:

τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατὴρ τε ὁ ἐμὸς Δαρείος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνη, ἐπισταμένοις εὐ οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι.<sup>11</sup>

It is quite possible that the scribe who produced Photius' copy of Herodotus, or some later corrector, noting the omission of all reference to the Magus and feeling constrained to explain this, inserted, in the form of a marginal gloss, some remarks similar to, or identical with, the remarks already quoted from Photius. His purpose in doing this would have been to explain why Xerxes, not Herodotus, failed to number the Magus among the kings.

The brevity of Photius' epitome of Herodotus (one

half-column) as compared with the epitomes of less important historians such as Ctesias, whose *Persica* is given seventeen columns, suggests that Photius may have summarized Herodotus partially from memory some little while after he read the work. If such is the case, he may well have been thumbing through his copy of Herodotus for the purpose of refreshing his memory, may have had his eye caught by a gloss of the sort mentioned above,<sup>12</sup> and may have copied the gloss almost verbatim, thinking it represented an accurate summary of Herodotus' views.

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY

## REVIEWS

**A Source Book in Greek Science.** By MORRIS R. COHEN and I. E. DRABKIN. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948. Pp. xxi, 579. \$9.00.

Seasoned historians of early science will welcome this volume of selections of Greek and Roman scientific writings as a valuable reference book and guide to the ancient literature; at the same time uninitiated students who are seeking an insight into ancient science will find this an introduction not too technical to be readily understood. The preparation of this volume has involved the rare combination of thorough training and highly developed aptitudes in philology and the sciences, and the editors have given evidence of ample talents in all the requisite fields.

The selections are particularly well chosen and illuminating. By restricting their material to that which would be regarded today as scientific in method, the editors were able to introduce excerpts from many lesser known authors and works. Instead of the familiar commonplaces from the doxographers that are found in nearly all the previous compilations on ancient science, we find much that is fresh and significant. Of course the notable contributions are found here too, but they are often followed up by later developments discussed by commentators on the classical writers. The chief virtue of the present work would seem to be that it dips into numerous writings hitherto not translated into English, and vividly demonstrates that Greek scientific discussion continued to be conducted on a high plane after the decline of the Empire in the West.

<sup>12</sup> Another passage in Herodotus which lists some of the Persian kings, without including the Magus, and which, therefore, might have given rise to a gloss of the sort discussed here is the following (iii, 89):

...λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατὴρ, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὁ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἀλγίωρος, ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἥπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς σφι πάντα ἐμυχανήσατο.

<sup>6</sup> iii. 71.

<sup>7</sup> iii. 72.

<sup>8</sup> iii. 73.

<sup>9</sup> iii. 75.

<sup>10</sup> iii. 67.

<sup>11</sup> vii. 8a.

The specialist will be pleased with the abundance of information, modestly tucked away in 8-point type in the footnotes. A note on page 197, for instance, summarizes what is known of Hero of Alexandria, gives brief digests of seven of his extant works, lists two more that are fragmentary, and gives the titles of five other works that are attributed to him. The note also points out that al-Nairizi's commentary on Euclid's *Elements* contains much Heronian material. It then discusses the contents of the Arabic version of Hero's *Mechanics*, of which only fragments survive in Greek. Elsewhere excerpts from Arabic versions of lost Greek works have been translated, and Arabic text readings have been freely compared with Greek readings where both survive.

Newcomers to the field will also be attracted by this volume, and will soon be ready to discard most of their notions about the ineptitudes of ancient Greek science. On the practical side they will find drawings and plans to accompany the text, describing various pulling and lifting machines, a fire engine, a dioptra, catapults, ballistae, a hodometer, and a hydrometer. Impractical but far more spectacular are gadgets such as Hero's steam "engine," a self-trimming lamp, statuettes that automatically pour libations on an altar when a fire is kindled, or temple doors that may be opened and closed by lighting a fire on an altar. Remarkable feats are performed with siphons and multiple mirrors. We have been aware of the existence of many devices and instruments of this sort from references to them in other handbooks, but here we have the opportunity of studying the diagrams and following the method of construction and operation.

Each reader will discover for himself numerous concepts and doctrines that he never suspected the ancient Greeks of propounding. The most exciting revelations to me were the following: the Aristotelian doctrine (p. 190) that circular motion is a combination of tangential and centripetal motion (this observation, if it had been applied to the heavens, would have anticipated Newtonian physics in part); the statement (p. 247) that an inflated bladder is heavier than an empty one; the experiment attributed to Erasistratus (p. 480) demonstrating that when an animal is kept without food for a period of time and its weight before the experiment is compared with its weight plus that of visible excreta after the experiment, some loss is discovered which must be attributed to invisible effluvia (this experiment and discovery are usually associated with Sanctonius at the end of the sixteenth century); the experiment to show the irreversibility of flow from kidney to bladder (p. 482), the sections of nerves along the spinal cord to determine the areas they control (p. 484), and the discovery by Aristotle (p. 537) of vestigial eyes beneath the skin of the mole.

The book is divided into sections on mathematics, astronomy, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry

and chemical technology, geology and meteorology, biology, medicine, and physiological psychology, and has a valuable bibliography. There are in all 317 selections, 203 being excerpts from previously published translations and 114 being new translations by Dr. Drabkin. Of the earlier translations those most frequently used are: *The Oxford Translation of Aristotle*, Heath's translations in his *Diophantus of Alexandria*, *History of Greek Mathematics*, *The Works of Archimedes*, *Greek Astronomy*, and *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, Morgan's Vitruvius, Jones' Strabo, Bostock and Riley's Pliny, Bailey's Lucretius, Greenwood's *Pneumatics* of Hero of Alexandria, K. C. Bailey's *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, Clarke's *Natural Questions* of Seneca, Hort's Theophrastus, Spencer's Celsus, and Jones and Withington's Hippocratic Collection.

The more significant of Dr. Drabkin's translations are selections from: Proclus' *Commentary on Euclid's Elements*; Theon of Smyrna; Pappus' *Mathematical Collection*; Simplicius' commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and *De caelo*; the *Metrica*, *On the Dioptra*, and *Mechanics* of Hero of Alexandria; Ptolemy's *Geography* (Dr. Drabkin should be commended for passing up the abominably bad translation of Stevenson); Ioannes Philoponus' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*; the *Pneumatics* and *Belopoica* of Philo of Byzantium; Euclid's *Optics* and the *Catoptrics* attributed to him; Ptolemy's (?) *Optics*; Boethius' *De institutione musica*; Theophrastus' *On Stones*; and the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of the Child*.

It is hard to see how a better selection of material could have been made in a book of this size. The availability of Ivor Thomas' two volumes on Greek mathematics in the "Loeb Classical Library" made possible a substantial reduction in space allotted to that subject. The passages on astronomy and geography are easy to comprehend. It is gratifying to the reader to be able to follow Ptolemy's directions for laying out a map on plane or spherical projection, but something beyond the simplest sections of Ptolemy's *Almagest* might have been appreciated by students with a knowledge of mathematics. Medical students would have welcomed more of Soranus' writings, something from his famous discussion of pediatrics or his account of podalic version.

The statement (p. 128) that Ptolemy's *Almagest* "was the basis of all astronomical knowledge throughout the Middle Ages and beyond" is incorrect. Duhem has shown that two of the most influential works on astronomy in the Middle Ages were Chalcidius' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* and Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* (Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du Monde* [Paris, 1913-17], III, 47-52). These works reveal little if any Ptolemaic indebtedness. A century ago Martin first pointed out that Chalcidius is mainly a translation of Theon of Smyrna (Henri Martin,

*Theonis Smyrnaei . . . De Astronomia* [Paris, 1849], p. 18). Macrobius follows in a tradition of commentators who may have by-passed Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Macrobius' work shows marked resemblances to the extant pre-Ptolemaic handbooks on astronomy, but contains none of Ptolemy's mathematics. To the names of Chalcidius and Macrobius could be added those of other post-classical pagan and Christian encyclopedists whose works had considerable influence in the Middle Ages and whose astronomical sources may well have been other than Ptolemaic.

On page 502, note 1, the observation is made that the prominence of multiples of the number seven in the Hippocratic treatise on critical days seems to reflect Pythagorean numerology. This may be true, but probably of equal, if not greater, importance was the association of the number with the lunar quarters. If we examine the passages on the number seven in the writings of the Pythagorean arithmologists listed by Robbins (*Classical Philology*, XVI [1921], 97-123), we find that they draw attention to the importance of the number in the climacterics of human life, but they pay equal attention to the lunar quarters and their influences upon the earth. Ps.-Galen *De diebus decretoriis* (Kühn IX, 900-41) accounts for critical days solely by the phases of the moon and (*ibid.*, chap. viii, pp. 917-28) ridicules the belief that numbers have virtues and any connection with the human body and disease. He concludes by wondering whether Pythagoras deserved the reputation of being wise if he entertained such notions.

The present compilation reveals extraordinary critical ability, care, and good judgment, and will serve as an ideal textbook for a semester or year course in the history of ancient science.

WILLIAM H. STAHL

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

**Cicero's Fight for the Republic: The Historical Background of Cicero's Philippics.** By HARTVIG FRISCH. ("Humanitas," No. 1.) Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1946. Pp. 311; 9 plates. 25 kroner.

The present volume is the first in "Humanitas," a series designed to make books in Danish on the classical world internationally available. It is a pleasing compliment to England and this country that the language chosen is English. Further volumes planned for this series are Carsten Höeg, *Introduction to Cicero* (Danish edition, 1942), and Frisch, *Might and Right in Antiquity*, Vol. I (Danish edition, 1944). Hartvig Frisch has combined political activity and classical studies. Since 1926 he has been a member of the Rigsdag, and in 1945 he was a delegate of that parliamentary body to the San Francisco Conference. Since 1941 he has been a professor of Classical Phi-

lology at the University of Copenhagen and has written widely on classical subjects. Among his other books in Danish *Cicero og Caesar* (1946) may be mentioned.

The present work, published in 1942 in Danish, was translated for this edition by Niels Haislund. The translation is lucid, but at times the English idiom is imperfectly handled, and the proof-reading is not wholly impeccable. The volume is well-printed on heavy paper. The plates include portraits of Pompey, Caesar, Octavius, Cicero, and Antony; a slab from the *Ara Pacis* showing a group of senators; twelve coins, and a plan of the battle of Mutina. The Uffizi portrait of Cicero (facing p. 128) is effectively repeated on the heavy paper cover.

The plan of the volume is uncomplicated and is carried out with great care. Two introductory chapters are followed by a study of the events from March 15, 44 to December 7, 43. In the first chapter, the author comments in an eclectic manner on the background of Roman politics and on views expressed by such writers as Meyer, Mommsen, and Gelzer. The second chapter deals with the impact of Caesar's personality upon the senatorial class, and on the troubled problem of Caesar's political intentions in the last year of his life.

With these two chapters to set the scene, Frisch embarks on a detailed narrative based on the primary sources. The author's purpose is stated on page 7: ". . . I as far as possible try to set forth the historical raw material before the reader for his verdict." The bulk of the citations is from the Ciceronian correspondence and the *Philippics*, but Appian, Dio, Plutarch, Suetonius, and others are cited frequently in the text and notes, as is also the modern literature. The narrative to August of 44 occupies three chapters (pp. 42-118). In Chapters VI to XIII, summaries of the fourteen orations against Antony are included, as well as a reconstruction of the speech by Antony which called forth that *conspicuae divina Philippica famae*, as Juvenal (x. 125) calls the *Second Philippic*. The developments on the Roman political scene from Cicero's return to Rome on August 31 until the second battle of Mutina on April 21 (cf. p. 287, note 75) are narrated in even greater detail within these 174 pages. The final chapter in more summary form includes the formation of the Second Triumvirate and the slaying of Cicero, the first great crime of that alliance.

The author, throughout his narrative, shows an active sympathy with Cicero, although he recognizes the temperamental qualities which prevented the orator from attaining the rigid consistency of Cato or the ruthless success of Caesar. In fact it is in Professor Frisch's sympathy for parliamentary constitutionalism that the book's greatest value lies. It is this quality which probably made the greatest appeal to his Danish readers.

I suspect that they are closer to the Drumann-Mommsen interpretation of the events of the years 49 to 43 than are Americans and English readers. The latter have re-interpreted those years, partly in the light of their own contemporary experience, partly through such accounts as those of Sihler and Petersson, and especially under the influence of Tyrrell and Purser's discussions in the magnificent introductions to their edition of Cicero's letters. Frisch's attitude towards Antony is somewhat surprising. He finds more to admire and more to praise than seems justified. In this he follows the brilliant and suggestive argumentation of Syme (Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* [Oxford, 1939]). Although Syme seems to me to overestimate Antony's scruples and abilities, he does follow his views to their logical conclusion when weighing Cicero. Frisch's statement, however, that "this hatred against Antony is gradually becoming a passion, which assumes a downright pathological character, such as completely to blind Cicero's political judgment" (p. 121) seems at least partially inconsistent with much of his narrative.

The volume offers little that is explicit in the way of modern parallels. Perhaps the author was restrained by the examples of Mommsen and Ferrero. It may be wiser to present the material and allow the reader to draw his own parallels. The result is a solid and workmanlike book in which information and interpretation are carefully balanced. Due consideration is given to the elaborate interlocking of families which has been discussed extensively by Münzer, Syme, and Taylor. The care with which the chronology of the events is handled is noteworthy. Citation of the ancient and modern material is carefully selected. A minor example is Frisch's consideration of the famous letter to Basilus (*Fam.* vi. 15), and his refusal to use it because of the uncertainty about its date and meaning (pp. 44 f.). To the bibliography on pages 309-11, L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* ("Philological Monographs Published by the American Philological Association," No. 1 [Middletown, Conn., 1931]) should be added, since many pages of that notable monograph are of significance for interpreting the events of 44-43.

WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

**Tibullo Minore.** By LUIGI PEPE. Naples: Casa Editrice Armanni, 1948. Pp. xii, 161. L. 700.

"What song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among the women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture." Who assumed the name of Lygdamus and wrote the six elegies now found in the third book of the *Corpus Tibullianum* is likewise a question that is not beyond

conjecture: it has exercised the minds of scholars and the hands of printers for two hundred years. The purpose of Pepe's well-written book is virtually to cancel the multitudinous speculations of modern scholarship, and to return to the assumption that, since Lygdamus is a good equivalent for Albius in both meaning and metre, it is the pseudonym of Albius Tibullus himself. The six elegies, according to Pepe, are Tibullus's earliest compositions and the Neaera to whom they are addressed was a lady whom he wooed vainly some years before he met the Delia who appears in Book I.

In support of this view Pepe argues skillfully and, for a time, persuasively, but in the end, of course, he must face the one insuperable obstacle in his path, the well-known couplet (iii. 5. 17 f.) in which Lygdamus indicates the year of his birth:

Natalem primo nostrum videre parentes,  
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.

Ovid, who adapted this distich for his own purposes (*Trist.* iv. 10. 5 f.), unquestionably used the second line to refer to the death of Hirtius and Pansa in their victory over Antony in 43 B.C. But if Lygdamus was Tibullus, he cannot have been born later than 48, so Pepe contends that in Lygdamus the line refers to the events of the year 66, when P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla, who had been elected to the consulship for the following year, were convicted under the Lex Cornelia *de ambitu* and thus disqualified from holding office. Therefore Tibullus was born in 66 B.C.<sup>1</sup> This simply will not do. The Latin cannot mean "when both consuls fell from office in a common disgrace (or misadventure)." That it cannot is shown by the very examples which Pepe has collected (pp. 114-17) to illustrate the use in political contexts of the words *cadere* and *fatum*.<sup>2</sup> Of the twenty-one instances in which one or the other word is supposed to have "un preciso riferimento politico," only one is really pertinent: Cic. *Lael.* § 53, where *si . . . ceciderunt* does mean "if they (tyrants) have fallen from power." The other examples have no probative force, and some amaze even a benevolent reader.<sup>3</sup> But even if the Latin could bear the meaning that Pepe reads into it, the hypothesis would still be extremely implausible: Autronius and Sulla never were *consules*, but merely *designati*; their conviction was no misfortune to the

<sup>1</sup> Pepe takes *natalem* to mean day of birth, not birthday (i.e. anniversary).

<sup>2</sup> Pepe does not mention the reading *facto . . . pari* offered by a good manuscript (Vat. 3270), but he must have been sorely tempted by a variant that would greatly enhance the plausibility of his argument.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5. 152 *seu amentiae seu fati seu calamitatis . . . exitus* obviously means "the outcome of either human madness or a decree of destiny or a (fortuitous) disaster," and certainly does not show that *fatum* can specifically mean "political reverse." Among illustrations of *cadere* Pepe quotes Cicero's comment on

state—one was a notorious scoundrel, and on the other's reputation Cicero later lavished perfect eloquence as vainly as Lady Macbeth might have applied the perfumes of Arabia to her hand; instead of being crushed by their humiliation, both men immediately plunged into the plans for a *coup d'état* now known as the First Catilinarian Conspiracy; and while Autronius and Sulla, like all demagogues, doubtless had simple-minded followers who at the time were ready to regard them as martyred champions of democracy or some such thing, not even a fanatical *popularis* could, eighteen or twenty years later, have regarded the incident of 66 B.C. as more than one of the scores of scandals that had appeared like fissures in the walls of the crumbling republic. That a tenderly melancholy poet, who shows no political animus, should have picked the half-forgotten episode as an historical landmark is inconceivable.

The chain of Pepe's argument fails with this link. His book, however, has a value independent of its principal thesis. He examines critically the critical depreciation from which Lygdamus has suffered, and by sending us without prejudice to the texts, reminds us that the elegies belong to so high an order of literature that, were it not for chronological considerations, we might well believe them to be the early work of Tibullus. For this we should be sincerely grateful.

REVILO P. OLIVER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

**Greek Literature in Translation.** Selected and edited by GEORGE HOWE and GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS HARRER. Revised edition by PRESTON HERSCHEL EPPS. New York: Harper and Bros., 1948. Pp. xviii, 903. \$5.00.

Ours is an age of criticism—and of anthologies. Yet very few of the latter, whether of modern poetry, the classics, or prose fiction, can be called excellent. I know an anthology of satire, for example, without a single poem of Horace in it; other fanciers of the literature of selection could perhaps cite equally astonishing omissions or inclusions. Since I have just put into the publisher's hands an anthology of Latin verse in translation, I am able to speak with tolerance as well as some experience:

Caelius Rufus (*Brut.* §273): *Hic cum summa voluntate bonorum aedilis curulis factus esset, . . . discessit a sese ceciditque, posteaquam eos imitari coepit quos ipse perverterat.* We are told that "il cecidit è in contrapposizione all' ascesa nel cursus honorum." This is to trifle with both language and history. Caelius did not lose rank politically: he went on to a praetorship. What Cicero means, of course, is what he says: that Caelius "was false to himself and went to pieces" when he deserted the optimates for the Caesarian faction.

the reasons why most anthologies of translated literature are bad are ignorance of the best available pieces or the refusal to use them; the disinclination to pay for reprint privileges for modern work; and that human inertia which insists on trundling the indigestible antiquities of Dryden, Pope, and Creech from age to age, until even the hardest reader gives up. It is unfortunate that anthologists of Greek and Latin literature so often put the wrong foot forward to that large audience which is waiting for the best English representation of the Classics; but theirs is an occupational disorder fully matched by the anthologists whose publishers now frantically shower me with huge tomes of world literature in translation, hoping I will adopt one of them for my courses in Masterpieces of World Literature and thus make their fortune. I could list any number of translations from modern literature alone which are superior to those reprinted in these volumes; and that is why I shall not adopt their anthologies.

Mr. Epps' revision of Howe and Harrer is a vast improvement of the original book, although not yet the equal of its only important competitor. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by Bryant are, of course, readable, in spite of "thee's," "thou's," and the use of "Ulysses" for "Odysseus"; but were there not half a dozen better translations available? The lyric poets done by Polwhele, Thomas Stanley, Merivale, and similar worthies (I exempt Shelley, Rossetti, and even Symonds from these strictures) will not stir the emotions of the young or, by their slight poetic value, inspire in readers a respect for translated literature. Why Way's Pindar, why such a poor and small choice from the Greek Anthology, where good selections lie on every hand, why Greek tragedy by Way again and Whitelaw when there were the translators included in Dudley Fitts, *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* (see my review in *The Western Review*, XII [1947-48], 244-246), why no late Greek at all, not even poor neglected Nonnos, why such brief, perfunctory introductions to the various categories and selections (not even a full page to tragedy), why no notes so that the glossary must stand a tremendous strain of exegesis for which it was never intended? But I am asking for another and a different book: and Mr. Epps' hands were tied by Howe and Harrer.

Prose comes off better, as always. Mr. Epps himself has done competent jobs with Plato's *Crito*, Demosthenes *On the Crown*, Thucydides I, III (selections); I miss his own *Poetics* (P. H. Epps [trans.], *The Poetics of Aristotle* [Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1942]). His *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus is well done, I should add; but, again, I prefer Lattimore's for reasons given in my review of the Fitts anthology. The scientific selections are a welcome innovation in a book of this sort. I wish the source of Cumberland's *Clouds* of Aristophanes had been given as well as that for Elton's Hesiod and other selections; but, before I



descend to misprints (I found none) I shall mumble, with the Germans: *Kritisieren kann jeder Esel; zum Bessermachen gehört Verstand.*

L. R. LIND

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

**First Year Latin.** By ROY J. DEFERRARI and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH. ("Marian Latin Series," No. 1.) Milwaukee: Bruce, 1948. Pp. xvi, 304. \$2.00.

**Second Year Latin.** By ROY J. DEFERRARI and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH. ("Marian Latin Series," No. 2.) Milwaukee: Bruce, 1948. Pp. xi, 350. \$2.48.

Obviously these books were written to be used primarily in Catholic schools. The adjective "Marian" in the title of the series is commemorative of the mother of Christ. Both books contain Catholic devotional material. The devotional parts and the other ecclesiastical Latin do not interfere with the teaching of classical Latin.

The following features of the first book are alleged by the authors to be important: condensation of material, an arrangement of contents based strictly on the objective of teaching how to translate, a vocabulary of 600 words selected for frequency of occurrence in Caesar, and an introduction to the principles of ecclesiastical Latin.

The first paragraph of Lesson I briefly states some of the reasons why Latin should be studied. This paragraph is an admirable example of clear and cogent motivation.

According to the preface, Part I is devoted to forms, and Part II to syntax. Forms, however, cannot be taught without syntax, and this impossible feat was not attempted.

Ingenious illustrations enliven both books. Perhaps the authors were thinking that *nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu*.

The exercises do what the authors say they were designed to do: that is, to emphasize a point of syntax and to do this without introducing irrelevant and difficult material. Passages from classical authors, scientifically cited, have an impressive look, but they frequently contain words and phrases capable of producing confusion in the minds of beginners.

This reviewer is glad that extensive excursions into the bypaths of Roman life and culture were avoided. Persons gifted with ordinary common sense know that an American child does not learn a foreign language by reading in English about the people who spoke or speak the language he is supposed to be studying.

Some imperfections will, no doubt, be removed in the preparation for the next edition.

*Second Year Latin* maintains continuity with *First Year Latin*. While not forgetting that they were writing an elementary Latin grammar, the authors present Caesar in an interesting manner and make his place in history clear.

In both books much of the *Gallie War* is printed in such a way as to enable students to see the thought elements of which the long Latin sentence, periodical or loose, is composed. Thus a visible admonition is given to the pupil that in dealing with the Latin sentence he is to do one thing at a time. The disorderly and unplanned attack on a Latin sentence, though unprofitable, is distressingly frequent. It is very difficult for many beginners to find the elements of a Latin sentence when they use the ordinary unbroken text. Many need the visual aids profusely supplied in these books.

From the beginning of his examination of these two books the reviewer was given the impression that they were written by real teachers, who knew their way around a classroom, who could not only teach, but also show their less gifted professional brethren how to teach. This is the reviewer's opinion as a veteran teacher of secondary Latin.

P. J. DOWNING

THE BROWNING SCHOOL

**Prepare Them for Caesar.** By MARY LOUISE MABIE. Boston: Little, Brown, 1949. Pp. 376. \$3.50.

Miss Mabie's biographical novel is a good specimen of this hybrid literary type. Too often, one cannot tell whether the author of such works is aiming at fact or fiction. In this book one is not left in doubt that it is a novel. The author knows that unity of hero does not lead to unity of action; and that the passage of years mars the unity of effect. She is, however, able to avoid the dangers presented by her literary form.

If *I, Claudius* be taken as the model for such fictions, *Prepare Them for Caesar* is defective. Caesar is not revealed as Claudius reveals himself. To be sure, Caesar's complex, secretive nature was not one to betray its desires and designs. He maintained an objective attitude in his own works, and he baffled his contemporaries who wrote about him. As an interpretation of Caesar's personality, the novel cannot be counted a success.

The book is, however, biographical fiction, not fictionalized biography. It should, therefore, be considered (to modify a phrase of George Meredith's) for its capacity to give thoughtful pleasure. As fiction, it is successful. It makes the age live. Without the obviousness of Davis's *A Friend of Caesar*, it indicates the inevitability of the Roman Republic's fall as a result of its inner rottenness. The author shows awareness of mod-

ern parallels. On page 289 occurs a veiled reminiscence of Hitler's exultation over the conquest of France. After the final defeat of Pompey, Caesar quietly enters his tent. "No one was here to see him smile in the dark. He was not ill-bred, to dance on the ground after victory." But the Forum still roars, and the green Gallic rivers rush, in the novel.

The characters also live. Caesar bestrides his contemporaries like a colossus, with very little clay in his feet. Though he is human, it is easy to see how he became later the divine Julius. Actually, his personality is described rather than defined. The minor characters are very human. One notes especially the repressed Brutus, the vacillating Cicero, Curio the hero-worshipping rake-hell, the time-serving Labienus, the slow-witted Pompey.

Miss Mabie does not use archaisms, but writes eminently readable contemporary English. She follows the tested classical mode of narration in allowing events to produce their own emotional effect without ostentatious rhetorical decoration. Her book deserves and should receive a numerous public.

JOHN PAUL PRITCHARD

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

## NOTES AND NEWS

This department will deal with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items will be welcomed. Also welcome will be items for the section on *Personalia*, which will deal with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

Professor Howard Comfort, Secretary of the American Philological Association, announces that he has a few extra copies of the circular concerning next summer's international **Classical Congress** in Paris (cf. *CW*, XLIII [1949-50], 29). Those interested may write Professor Comfort at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Early in 1950 the Princeton University Press will publish for the **University of Cincinnati** a series of archaeological volumes reporting the finds made in the excavation of Ancient Troy. The excavation was conducted by the University of Cincinnati between 1932 and 1938 under the direction of Professor Carl W. Blegen.

The list of **local classical associations** in the territory of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, which was originally scheduled for publication in the previous issue, was held up to allow time for additional entries. The list is presented herewith; additions and corrections will be welcome, as will news of the organizations' activities and plans.

**District of Columbia:** Washington Classical Club; Pres., Prof. John Francis Latimer, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

**New Jersey:** New Jersey State Classical Associa-

tion; Pres., Miss Evelyn F. Porter, Jonathan Dayton Regional High School, Springfield, New Jersey.

**New York:** Catholic Classical Association of Greater New York; Pres., Prof. Edward A. Robinson, Fordham University, New York 58, New York (this organization draws members from the entire metropolitan New York area, including northern New Jersey).

New York Classical Club; Pres., Dr. Edward C. Chickering, 220 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.

Westchester County Teachers Association, Latin Section; Pres., Mr. Chester Bush, Scarsdale High School, Scarsdale, New York.

**Pennsylvania:** Classical Association of Pittsburgh and the Vicinity; Pres., Miss Jane D. Morgan, 928 California Avenue, Pittsburgh 2, Pennsylvania.

Classical Club of Lehigh Valley; Pres., Prof. Horace Wetherill Wright, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania State Association of Classical Teachers; Pres., Miss Norma Nevin, Maple Bluffs, Elizabeth, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia Classical Club; Pres., Rev. Charles M. Cooper, Lutheran Theological Seminary, 7301 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia Classical Society; Chairman of Board of Governors, Professor Raymond T. Ohl, 148 Cricket Avenue, Ardmore, Pennsylvania (this organization draws members from the metropolitan Philadelphia area, including Delaware and Montgomery Counties in Pennsylvania; Camden and southern New Jersey; and Wilmington, Delaware).

## BOOKS RECEIVED

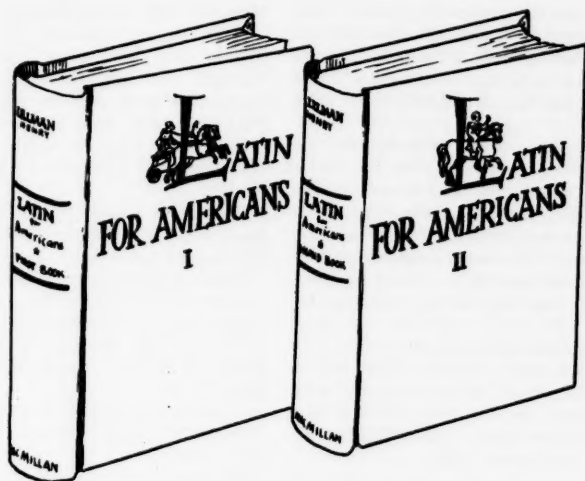
Here will be listed all books received by **THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY** the subjects of which are deemed to fall within the **WEEKLY's** scope. Listing here neither precludes nor assures a subsequent review. Books received will not be returned, whether or not they are listed or reviewed.

KRAHE, HANS. *Die Indogermanisierung Griechenlands und Italiens: Zwei Vorträge*. ("Vorträge und Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, Namenforschung und Altertumskunde.") Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1949. Pp. 59.

QUISP, G. (ed.). *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*. ("Grieksche en Latijnsche Schrijvers met Aanteekeningen," No. 61.) Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949. Pp. xviii, 83. 2 guilders.

SPILMAN, MIGNONETTE. *Medical Latin and Greek*. 2d ed.; Salt Lake City, Utah: Privately Printed, 1949. Pp. ix, 139. (May be obtained from the author at K. H. 316, University of Utah, Salt Lake City 1, Utah.)

WHICHER, GEORGE F. (trans.). *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Songs and Satires in New Verse Translations*. New York: New Directions, 1949. Pp. 303. \$7.50.



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